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AN OUTLINE OF SERBO-CROATIAN NOMINAL MORPHOLOGY, PART I.

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THE FIRST PART OF THIS TWO-PART ANALYSIS DESCRIBES MORPHOLOGICAL CHARACTERISTICS OF SERBOCROATIAN NOUNS ONLY. THERE IS A SHORT DISCUSSION OF THE SOURCES AND DIFFICULTIES ENCOUNTERED IN ESTABLISHING WHAT IS THE STANDARD SPEECH FOR THE PURPOSE OF ANALYSIS. NOUNS ARE DIVIDED INTO THREE DECLENSIONAL CLASSES, ACCORDING TO ENDING OF THE GENITIVE SINGULAR CASE. GENDER FEATURES ARE DETERMINED BY TWO FACTORS--SYNTACTIC CONSEQUENCE AND PRONOUN REPLACEMENT. STEMS CONSIST OBLIGATORILY OF A ROOT WITH WHICH THERE MAY OCCUR ONE OR MORE PREFIXES AND SUFFIXES. THE PAPER ALSO DISCUSSES (1) MIXED NOUNS (THOSE OF MIXED GENDERS OR DECLENSIONAL TYPES), (2) "SINGULARIA TANTUM" NOUNS, (3) LENGTH ALTERNATION IN THE NOUN STEM, AND (4) STRESS SHIFTS. ALL SERBOCROATIAN EXAMPLES ARE CITED IN STANDARD SPELLING WITH THE ADDITION OF SYMBOLS FOR ACCENTS AND VOWEL LENGTH. A SHORT BIBLIOGRAPHY IS LISTED AT THE BEGINNING. (AW)

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AN OUTLINE OF SERBO-CROATIAN NOMINAL MORPHOLOGY

by

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"Piši onako, kako narod govori!"
– Vuk S. Karadžić

(Preprint not for general distribution)

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Part I

Introduction

0.1 The following study has been some ten years in gestation, since I have been writing and rewriting part of it for this period of time. It is based in part on the standard handbooks listed in the following section, but checked against the usage of native speakers. Surprisingly, in view of Vuk Karadžić's famous injunction "Write as you speak; speak as you write", native Serbo-Croatian grammatical writing is dominated by a strong normative tradition. Ironically, in jealously striving to preserve and impose as a standard the grammatical system expounded by Vuk on the basis of his own and related dialects of the day, Vuk's successors have proved unfaithful to the substance of the great grammarian's thought. Hence, the handbooks are not always reliable as indicators of spoken standard usage and I have relied heavily upon the evidence supplied by linguistic informants, in first line my wife, Natascha Bidwell, née Dragutinović; born in Valjevo, Serbia, but raised in Belgrade and a speaker of the koiné of that city. The spoken standard, as distinct from the language of belles lettres, I define as the variety of speech used in informal and semi-formal communication by persons who have completed at least secondary schooling (gymnasium). This may not be the only speech variety used by such persons; on some occasions local dialects may be employed (which of course are not treated here). Naturally, a standard defined in this manner cannot present the petrified uniformity posited and desired by some normativists; there is considerable regional and even idiolectal variation. My observations, however, obviously cannot have covered every possible variety

of standard language, but in the nearly two decades that I have been studying Serbo-Croatian, I have come in contact with speakers from many regions; most, it happens, have been heavily influenced by the Zagreb or Belgrade koinés -- in itself perhaps an indication of the prestige value of the current speech of the two great cultural centers.[1] This outline then aims to describe the current spoken standard in line with the descriptivist, non-normative tendency characteristic of much of American structural linguistics.

0.2 I have been influenced, particularly inasfar as analysis of prosodic features is concerned, by Carleton T. Hodge, with whom I worked for five years at the Foreign Service Institute, Washington, D.C. The very numerous articles of Pavle and Milka Ivić, offprints of which they have kindly furnished me, provided many valuable and fruitful stimuli.

0.3 The following handbooks and other studies have been consulted in preparing this study:

A. Leskien, Grammatik der serbo-kroatischen Sprache, Heidelberg, 1914

M. Rešetar, Elementar-Grammatik der kroatischen (serbischen) Sprache, Zagreb, 1922

C.T. Hodge and J. Janković, Serbo-Croatian basic course, Washington (FSI), 1965-6

T. Maretić, Gramatika hrvatskoga ili srpskoga književnog jezika, Zagreb, 1963 (third edition, revised by Mate Hraste and Pavle Rogić)

M. Stevanović, Savremeni srpskohrvatski jezik I, Belgrade, 1964

I. Brabec, M. Hraste, S. Živković, Gramatika hrvatskoga ili srpskoga jezika Zagreb, 1958

Pravopis hrvatskosrpskoga književnog jezika, Zagreb and Novi Sad, 1960

A. Belić, Pravopis srpskohrvatskog književnog jezika, Belgrade, 1950

Đ. Daničić, Srpski akcenti (posebna izdanja Srpske kraljevske akademije 58), Belgrade-Zemun, 1925

H. Rubenstein, A comparative study of morphophonemic alternations in standard Serbo-Croatian, Czech, and Russian, Ann-Arbor, 1950

M. Deanović, Hrvatskosrpsko-talijanski rječnik, Zagreb, 1956

Vuk S. Karadžić, Srpski rječnik, Belgrade, 1935 (4th ed.)

Pavle Ivić and Ilse Lehiste, "Prilozi ispitivanju fonetske i fonološke prirode akcenata u savremenom srpskohrvatskom književnom jeziku", Zbornik za filologiju i lingvistiku 6:31-71 (1963)

Pavle Ivić, "Prozodijski sistem savremenog srpskohrvatskog standardnog jezika", Symbolae linguisticae in honorem Georgii Kuryłowicz, 135-144.

Milka Ivić, "Obeležavanje imeničkog roda u srpskohrvatskom književnom jeziku" Naš jezik n.s. 10:192-211 (1960).

C.T. Hodge, "Serbo-Croatian stress and pitch", General Linguistics 3:43-54 (1958).

Milija Stanić, "Tipovi imeničkih deklinacija našeg jezika", Rad JAZU 278:195-212 (1949).

Sv. Marković, "O imenicama na -ist(a) i sl.", Naš jezik n.s. 3:12-27 (1951).

A. Peco, "Oblici kolektivnih imenica na -ad", Naš jezik n.s. 7:234-24

M. Stevanović, "Neki akcenatski dubleti", Naš jezik n.s. 3:226-241

0.4 The phonemic analysis underlying this study is based on that by C.T Hodge and posits the following segmental phonemes:

vowels			consonants								
i	ə	u	p	t				k			
e	o		b	d				g			
	a		f	s			š	h			
			v	z			ž		l	r	
									j		
				c		č	ć				
						ǧ	dž				
			m	n							

"Vocalic" r is analyzed as /ər/ and [ń ĺ] as /nj lj/. Vowel length is analysed as a geminate vowel, i.e. a sequence of two identical short vowels; traditional "falling" stress as a single stress, traditional "rising" stress as a double (geminate) stress having two syllables as its domain. Thus:

Cá(	traditional	short	falling accent	/pás/ 'dog'
CáːC	"	long	" "	/gráad/ 'city'
CáCá	"	short	rising "	/žéná/ 'wife, woman'
CáːCá	"	long	" "	/mleéko/ 'milk'

Since traditional Serbo-Croatian orthography is very nearly phonemic, all Serbo-Croatian material in the following outline is cited in standard spelling with the addition of signs for accents and vowel length. Single and geminate stress is indicated as in the examples above: /´/,/˝/, while vowel length is indicated, by a colon /ː/ rather than by writing vowels double. This latter convention is adopted solely for the convenience of the reader in

preserving as nearly as possible the "Schriftbild" of the standard orthography and must not be interpreted, for example, as an abandonment of the geminate analysis of the traditional long vowels. Serbo-Croatian words cited in the text below will be underlined, while suffixes, roots, etc. will be cited in slant lines. The four examples given above would be written, in the quasi-phonemic notation to be adopted, as follows:

pȁs, grá:d, žéná, mlé:kȍ.

0.5 The following morphophonemic rules are of importance for the nominal system.

Automatic rules:

a. Voicing assimilation: The last consonant, non-neutral with regard to voicing, in a sequence of consonants unbroken by vowel or major juncture, determines the replacement to agree with it in respect to voicing of preceding non-neutral consonants. Voicing-neutral consonants are /m n r l j h/; /v/ is neutral in respect to preceding consonants, but undergoes replacement by its voiceless counterpart /f/ if followed by a voiceless consonant. /od+plat+a/ → ótplata 'payment'.

b. Reduction of geminate consonants: A sequence of two identical consonants is replaced by a single such consonant. /bez+za:kon+j+e/ → bezá:kónje 'lawlessness'.

c. Loss of dental stop before affricate; /t d/, plus affricate → ∅ plus affricate: Nsg. ȏtȁc, Gsg. ócá 'father'.

Non-automatic rules:

d. Morpheme-final /l/ is replaced by /o/ before consonant or word-boundary: Gsg. pȍslá, Nsg. pȍsáo 'task, affair'; Nsg. prȁtilac, Gsg. prȁtioca 'accompanier'.

e. "Inserted" or "movable" vowel /a/; In morphemes ending in certain consonant clusters, /a/ is intercalated between the final two consonants when word-boundary (usually with zero ending) or consonant follows. Examples: pósáo, prátilac, ótác in c. and d. above. In citing roots "inserted" /a/ is enclosed in square brackets: /ot[a]c-/.

f. I-change: /k → c, g → z, h → š/ before elements beginning with /i/: Nsg. Čéh, Npl. Čési 'Czech'.

g. J-change: /t → ć, d → đ, s → š, z → ž, k → č, g → ž, h → š, c → ž/, /n/, /l/ (and rarely /r/) add /j/, labials add /lj/ (/m p b v/ → /ml, plj blj vlj/ respectively: Nsg. Bó:g, Vsg. Bóže 'God'.

h. /o ∽ e/ alternation. Morpheme initial /o/ in certain suffixes is replaced by /e/ after elements ending in palatal consonants /j ć đ š ž č dž c/. Various processes have disturbed the purely phonological conditioning of this alternation, so that in some cases /e/ occurs after non-palatal C and /o/ after palatal C in environments where this alternation is expected: Nsg. pólje 'field' (cf. zlá:to 'gold'.

i. Dental stop /t d/ falls between /s z/ and /n/: Nsg.m. částan Nsg.f. čásna 'honorable'. This is nearly automatic, exceptions being a number of recent loans: Nsg.f. prótéstna 'of protest'.

j. No more than two vowels occur in sequence without intervening juncture or consonant. Therefore, geminate vowel followed by /o/ resulting from the change /l → o/ before consonant or word-boundary is reduced to a single vowel: Nsg.f. beélá Nsg.m. béo 'white'.

The foregoing changes affect segmental phonemes; prosodic changes (vowel lengthening or shortening and stress shifts) will be treated in detail below.

The Noun

1.0 Serbo-Croatian nouns are declined in terms of two concord categories, singular (sg.) and plural (pl.), and of six case categories, nominative (N), genitive (G), accusative (A), dative (D), instrumental (I), vocative (V). Every Serbo-Croatian noun further inherently belongs to one of three gender concord categories, masculine (m.), feminine (f.), or neuter (n.); gender is a concord category, the gender being determined by the form of potential modifiers and by pronoun replacement.

1.1 Serbo-Croatian nouns fall into three declensional classes, according to ending of the genitive singular case, class A /-e:/, B /-a/, class C /-i/[2] (mnemonic: A-nouns have /-a/ in Nsg., C-nouns have consonant plus ∅ in Nsg.)

The following endings occur:

Nsg. Type A nouns have -a, excepting for certain masculine personal names and kinship terms, which in the western part of the Serbo-Croatian area, as mentioned 1.2 below, have, /-o/ or /-e/. One noun (with stem extension /i⌣er/, see 1.3.3) has ∅ in NAsg.

Type B neuter nouns (Bn) take the ending /-o⌣-e/. Those whose stems which add the stem-extensions /-en-/ or /-et-/: ìme (Gsg. ìmẽna), tẽlẽ (Gsg. tẽlẽta), diminutives in /-č-et-/ S̀rpče (Gsg. S̀rpčeta) 'Serbian child' kanâbẽ (Gsg. kanâbẽta) 'couch, canapé' take the ending /-e/; otherwise /-e/ occurs after stem-final palatal consonant.

Type B masculine nouns (Bm) have, in the overwhelming majority, zero. Some have /-o⌣-e/, chiefly masculine personal names, e.g. Márko, and a few other masculines in /-o/ such as Čikáːgó 'Chicago'

Kóngo 'Congo'. The two month names jú:li ~ jú:l 'July' and ju:ni ~ jú:n 'June' have an alternate nominative ending /-i/ (~ Ø). Certain foreign (Rumanian) names have /-u/ in Nsg., Tatarésku 'Tatarescu'. Type C nouns have zero.

Asg. Only type A nouns have a separate form (with the ending /-u/) for the Asg. Class C nouns, Class Bn nouns, and Class Bm nouns which denote inanimate objects (Bm inan.) have in the Asg. the same form as the Nsg. Bm nouns which denote living beings (Bm anim.) have in the Asg. the same form as the Gsg.

Gsg. As stated above, Class A nouns have /-e:/ in this case, Class B /-a/, and Class C /-i/.

Dsg. Class A and C nouns have the ending /-i/, Class B nouns /-u/. In some varieties of the standard language class ~~III~~ Bm and ~~III~~ C, nouns show stress difference after prepositions (former locative) from the non-prepositional form (former dative).

Isg. Class A nouns have /-o:m/, Class B nouns /om ~ -em/, Class C have /-i/ or /-ju ~ Ju/ /-ju/ after stems ending in /r, s, z/, and /-u/ with J- change of preceding stem-final C after stems in the remaining consonants.

Vsg. Class Bn nouns as well as class Am and Bm nouns with /-o/ or/-e/ in Nsg. have Vsg. same as Nsg. There is also a tendency for many other Class A and Bm nouns to use the form of the Nsg. in vocative function, rather than the prescribed vocative form. These particularly include many personal names and some kinship terms. Otherwise A nouns have /-o/, except that nouns with the suffix -ic- have -e rather than -o in the V; Some pejoratives with this suffix however show free variation of -o with -e in V.

Examples: VN identical: Márija 'Mary', Lúːka 'Luke'; free variation in V: bábaᵕbábo 'old woman, grandmother'. Class Bm nouns have /-e/ or /-u/, /-u/ occurring mainly after the palatal consonants and, alternatively with /-e/, after /k g l r/. Before /-e/, stems in the velars /k g h/ undergo J-change. Class C nouns have /-i/ in the Vsg.

In example paradigms below, the V is usually not listed separately, where it has the same ending as the N., i.e. in Bn nouns and in all plural forms.

As may be seen from the foregoing, there is a tendency in class A and B to eliminate the Vsg. as a separate case, substituting for it the endings of the Nsg. Where separate vocative endings are retained, there is often considerable variation among individual speakers in the choice of ending in the absence of clear-cut phonological criteria for such choice.

Vpl. There is no separate Vpl. form. All nouns have the same ending in Vpl. as the Npl. In some nouns however, Vpl. is distinguished from Npl. by stress (see below).

Npl. Class A nouns have /-e/ in the Npl. Class C nouns have /-i/. Class Bn nouns have /-a/ and Bm nouns have /-i/.

Apl. Class A nouns, class C nouns and class Bn nouns have the same form in the Apl. as in the Npl. Class Bm nouns have the ending /-e/ in the Apl. (i.e. the same ending as class A nouns have in both N and Apl.)

Gpl. Most nouns of classes A and B have the ending /-aː/ in the Gpl. A fair number of nouns of these two classes have the ending /-iː/, especially after stems ending in consonant clusters.
Class C nouns all have /-iː/.

Usage in this respect varies from idiolect to idiolect and with very many words the use of either ending is acceptable in the standard language. Thus, mára:ka: or márki: "of stamps" but only sestá:rá: 'of sisters'. Some few words have the endings /-u:/ or /-iju:/ in the Gpl. Theze are: Class A rúkú:~rú:ká: 'of hands', nógu:~nó:gá: 'of legs'; Class Bm pə́rstíju:~pə́rstí:~pə́:rsta: 'of fingers', góstíju:~góstí: 'of guests', nóktíju:~noká:tá: 'of nails'; Class C: kokóšíju:~kokóší: 'of chickens'; mixed class (class C pl.): óčíju:~óčí: 'of eyes', úšíju:~úší: 'of ears'.

DIpl. In these cases class A nouns have the ending /-ama/, class B and C nouns have the ending /-ima/. In some (archaic) varieties of the standard language this ending is truncated to /-ma/ (in conjunction with which variant, E stress is automatic) after the suffix /-a:d-/ and after a few other stems.

Table of endings:

	A	Bn	Bm	C	
sg.					
V	(-a), -oue	-oue	-e~u	-i	V
N	-a		-ø		N
A	-u		~		A
G	-e:	-a		-i	G
D	-i	-u			D
I	-o:m	-om~em		-i~-ju~-Ju	I
pl.					
N	-e	-a	-i		N
A			-e		A
G	-a:(~-i:)			-i:	G
DI	-ama	-ima(~-ma)			DI

The symbol ~ , as used in this table, signifies that animate nouns have the same A form as the Gsg. and inamimate nouns the same form as the Nsg.

The symbol ⌣ , as used in this table, signifies that animate nouns have the same form as the Gsg. and inanimate nouns the same form as the Asg.

1.2 Distribution of genders.

Gender is determined strictly by two factors: syntactic congruence (agreement of attributes and predicate complements) and pronoun replacement. Thus:

Nȁša mȁ:jka je dȏbrȁ. Ónȁ nas vȏli:. (feminine)

NȁsØ ȏtácØ je dȏbarØ. On nas vȏli:. (masculine)

Agreement and pronoun replacement indicate masculine and feminine genders respectively of mȁ:jka 'mother' and ȏtác 'father'.

Type A nouns are in their overwhelming majority feminine; a restricted subgroup of this type is of mixed gender: Type Am contains masculine common nouns (slȕ:gȁ 'servant', pȁ:pa 'pope', vlȁdȉka '(Orthodox) bishop', tȁta 'papa', sȕdȉja 'judge', mladȏžȅnja 'bridegroom') including nouns with the borrowed (Turkish) suffixes /-li-/ and /-dži-/, formerly, and still to some extent, a quite productive category: parȁ:jlȉja 'fellow with a lot of money (slang)', Nȉšlija 'man from Niš', sȁ:jdžȉja 'watchmaker', mlekȁdžȉja 'milkman' and a number of masculine personal names: Ílija 'Elias', Lȕka 'Luke', MȊ:ka 'Mike (nickname from Mihȁȉlo)'. These nouns are of masculine gender in the singular, but feminine in the plural. In the Western part of the Serbo-Croatian speech area, a number of masculine personal names have the endings /-o/ or /-e/ in NVsg. and are otherwise declined as type A nouns; they too fall in subgroup Am: I:vȏ, I:vȅ 'Johnny'. Type Bm nouns are masculine, Bn neuter, and C feminine.

1.3 Stem shape.

Stems consist obligatorily of a root with which there may occur one or more prefixes and/or suffixes. The overwhelming majority of nouns contain but one root, though there is a class of compound stems containing two (or more) roots. Examples of stem structure:

STEM			ENDING	
prefix(es)	root(s)	suffix(es)		
--	źěn-	--	-á	'wife, woman'
--	rát-	--	-Ø	'war'
ráz-	govo:r		-Ø	'conversation'
pro-íz-	vód-		-Ø	'product'
ó-	bran-		-a	'defence'
ó-	bráz-	ac-	-Ø	'pattern'
--	bibliotek-	á:r-stv-	-ó	'librarianship'
--	lúk-o-bra:n-		-Ø	'breakwater'

A stem normally ends in a consonant. Exceptions are recent foreign borrowings which may have stems in vowels; such stems in vowels are incorporated into class Bm:

Nsg. atášé:	Gsg. atašéá	Npl. atašéí	'attaché'
nívó:	nivóá	nivóí	'level'
rágú:	ragúá	ragúí	'ragout'

1.3.1 Inserted vowel.

In many stems ending in a sequence of two consonants there occurs an /a/ between them before zero ending and genitive plural ending /-a:/ alternating with absence of /a/ before other endings. The inserted vowel is short before Ø, but, as with all syllables before Gpl. /-a:/, long before that ending. Thus, <u>má:čák</u>

Gsg. mâ:čkâ 'tomcat'; séstrâ Gpl. sestâ:râ: 'sister'. In some items there is considerable individual variation in occurrence of inserted /a/: Nsg. kóncért ~ kóncêrat 'concert'. There is also a tendency in the Gpl. to use with stems ending in a cluster the ending /-i:/, before which inserted /a/ does not occur, rather than /-a:/: Nsg. brô:jka 'figure' Gpl. brô:jkii ~ brôja:ka:. Naturally, the usual automatic morphophonemic changes take place within the stems in those forms without /a/:

2a

Stem /ot(a)c-/ 'father' Nsg. ótâc Gsg. ócá (/t/+/c/→ /c/)

/klub(a)k-/ 'lump' Nsg. klûbko Gpl. klubâ:kâ:

1.3.2 Stem-final consonant alternations

Before endings beginning with /i/ (except the Gpl.), stem-final velar consonants undergo I-change. The cases affected are Dsg. of class A, Npl. of class Bm and DI pl. of class B; class C nouns are unaffected as they have no stems ending in velars. There is some tendency to abandon this change in class A nouns; personal names and kinship terms as well as stems ending in consonant clusters often do not show this change. There is a greater tendency to abandon this change in stems in /h/ than in those ending in the other two velars /k g/. In many items there is considerable personal and regional variation. Examples:

júnâ:k	'hero'	Npl.	junâ:cí	DIpl.	junâ:címa
nosórôg	'rhinoceros'		nosórózi		nosorózíma
Čéh	'Czech'		Čési		Čésima
blâ:go	'treasure'				blâ:zima

mȁ:jka	'mother'	Dsg.	mȁ:jci ∽	mȁ:jki
slȕ:ga	'servant'		slȕ:zí	
epóhá	'epoch'		epóhí ∽	epósí

J-change occurs only in stems ending in velars or /c/ before the ending of the Vsg. (Bó:g 'God' Vsg. Bóže, ótȁc 'father' Vsg. óče, čóvek 'man' Vsg. čóveče) and in the alternation of a few stems (/turk-/ 'Turk' Nsg. Túrčín, Npl. Tú:rci, Gpl. Túra:ka:, óko 'eye', úho 'ear' Npl. óči, úši).

A stem-final /j/ is lost before Ø-ending in the case of a number of recent foreign borrowings (which in the source language ended in /i/):

Nsg.	táksi	Gsg. táksija	'taxi'
	Botičéli	Botičélija	'Botticelli'

1.3.3 Stem extensions

The type C noun kči: 'daughter' and the A noun máti 'mother' have the stem final element /-i-/ (in N) ∽ /-er-/ (in remaining cases. In kči: furthermore, the stem vowel is lengthened before Ø (NAsg.) and the Isg. ending /-ju/. Thus:

N	kčí: (kčé:r)	máti
A	kčé:r	máter
G	kčéri	mátere:
I	kčé:rju	máterom

In colloquial speech these nouns are almost entirely replaced by the type I derivatives mȁ:jka and (k)čé:rkȁ.

A limited number of Bn nouns show the extension /-en-/ in cases other than NAsg. NA íme G ímena.[3] A large number of nouns

(many but by no means all denoting the young of people and animals), plus many deminuitives with the suffix /-č-/ and a good contingent of loans from Turkish, as well as a number of masculine names extend the stem by /-et-/ in singular non-NA forms and must be accounted a productive category. The masculine names are masculine in gender and do not usually occur in the plural, while the others are neuter in gender and are mostly in mixed category forming their plural with the suffix /-a:d-/ (see below); those which are of Bn type in singular and plural (e.g. kanábé 'couch') have the suffix in the plural as well. The Bn noun já:jé 'egg' has the /-et-/ extension only in the singular non-NA forms (Npl. já:já), as do the eastern variant uvo (= úho) 'ear' and the mixed noun dé:té (dijété) 'child'. The noun dȁrvo has the extension /-et-/ only in the singular non-NA in the meaning 'wood, lumber' but in all non-NAsg. forms in the meaning 'tree'. Likewise the noun stákló has /-et-/ in the singular non-NA only in meaning 'small bottle', but not in its principal meaning 'glass'.

Examples:

Nsg.	Mí:le (man's name)	Gsg. Mí:leta	Npl. --
	píle 'chicken'	píleta	(píla:d)
	kanábé 'couch'	kanábéta	kanábéta
	já:jé 'egg'	jájéta	(já:já)
	úvo 'ear'	úveta	úši
	dé:té (dijété) 'child'	dététa (djététa)	(déca, djéca)
	dȁrvo 'tree, wood'	dȁrveta	dərvétá 'trees' (dȁrva) 'wood, lumber'

Four Bn nouns have the extension /-es-/ in the plural: nébo 'sky, heaven'; čúdo 'wonder, marvelous thing' has the extension in the alternate plural form with the meaning 'miracles', télo 'body' has it in the alternate plural meaning 'heavenly or dead bodies', kólo 'wheel' has it in the meaning 'large wheels'. Thus, nébo, nebésá, etc. One mixed noun, type Bn in sg., type C in pl., has the extension /-er-/ in non-NAsg. forms: véče: 'evening', G véčera (This word is used primarily in the east; in the west this noun has the stem /véče:r-/ in all forms and is declined as type C, except only in the common greeting dóbar véče:r 'good evening' where it is type Bm).

The majority of monosyllabic Bm nouns as well as a few polysyllabic Bm stems extend their stems with the suffix /-ov- ∽ -ev-/ (/-ev-/ occurring after palatal consonants). Addition of this extension is a productive pattern, as it is added to recent borrowings.)[4]

Nsg. drú:g	Npl. drúgovi	'comrade, pal'
gólu:b	gólubovi	'dove, pigeon'
bíč	bíčévi	'whip'

Most Bm nouns with the suffix /-in-/ retain it only in the singular, dropping it in the plural. The stem /turk-/ also shows stem-final J-change before /-in-/ and regular I-change in the plural

Nsg. Búgarin	Npl. Búgari	'Bulgarian'
gráđanin	gráđa:ni	'citizen'
Túrčín	Tú:roi Gpl. Túra:ka:	'Turk'
but: domáćín	domáćíni	'host, master of the house'.

1.4 Mixed nouns.

Serbo-Croatian has a number of groups of nouns as well as a few isolated nouns which are of mixed genders or declensional types.

Type Am: This type, which has the forms of type A and is masculine in singular and feminine in plural, has been mentioned above (1.2): vlȁdika '(Orthodox) bishop' etc.

Type Bm/n: A fairly extensive (and productive) subclass is composed of recent borrowings which are declined as type II (with the ending /-o/ in VNAsg.) and are of masculine gender in the singular and neuter in the plural. Such are dînámo 'dynamo', torpédó 'torpedo'. etc. (Npl. dînáma, torpédá, etc.).[5]

In addition three Bm nouns ȁkt 'act, file, nude portrait' dokuménát 'document', and fȁkat 'fact' have besides their regular plurals, alternate Bn (Npl. ending /-a/, neuter gender) plurals. In the case of ȁkt there is a semantic differentiation of the plural forms: ȁkti 'acts', ȁktovi 'nudes', ȁkta 'files'.

Type A/B : consists principally of formations with the suffix /-ist-/. Though some speakers decline these as straight type B nouns, for many speakers they have masculine gender in both singular and plural but Type A forms in the singular.

Nsg. komúnista Npl. komúnísti 'communist'

Type B/C: Most nouns with the stem extension /-et-/ do not retain this extension in the plural, but replace it by /-a:d-/. The forms with /-a:d-/ have type C endings: NA have the type Csg. ending Ø, while GDI have (in idiolectal variation) either the Cpl.

endings G /-i:/, DI /-ima/ (archaic /-ma/) or Csg. GDL /-i/.
The forms in /-a:d-/ which serve as the semantic plural counterpart to the singular forms in /-et-/ have, as far as they have Csg. forms, feminine singular attribute and complement agreement, but plural verbal agreement; the forms with Cpl. endings have feminine plural agreement; pronoun replacement with both types of ending may be either feminine singular or (in the case of living beings) masculine plural (cf. the similar case of bráča, etc.). One noun of this type čeljá:dé 'human being' has the suffix /-a:d-/ in the singular (before /-et-/) as well as in plural.

Examples:

Nsg.	Gsg.	NApl.	Gpl.	DIpl.
télé	téléta	téla:d	téla:di: ∽ téla:di	téla:dima ∽ telá:dmá 'calf'
siróčé	siróčéta	síroča:d	síroča:di: ∽ síroča:di	síroča:dima ∽ siročádmá 'orphan'
únúča	únúčeta	únúča:d	únúča:di: ∽ únúča:di	únúča:dima ∽ unučá:dmá 'grandchild'
čeljá:dé	čeljá:déta	čélja:d	čéljadi: ∽ čéljadi	čélja:dima ∽ čeljá:dmá 'human being'

As mentioned above (1.3.3) the noun véče 'evening' has the stem extension /-er-/ in nonNAsg. forms with Bn endings and neuter gender in the singular and Cpl. endings and feminine gender in the plural. In the west, this noun is regular class C (NAsg. véče:r, Gsg. véceri) in all forms. Likewise, óko 'eye', úho 'ear' are type Bn in the singular; their plural forms óči, úši are class C (and feminine).

B/A nouns: Four nouns are type B in sg. and have type A singular endings in the forms which serve as their plural. These "plural" forms have feminine singular attribute and complement agreement, but plural verbal agreement; pronoun replacement is feminine singular (~ m.pl.). In the singular one noun (dẻtẻ) is neuter and has the stem extension /-et-/ in all singular non-NAsg. forms; the other three are masculine (brât, gospódín, vlastẻlín); two have the suffix /-in-/, dropped in the plural, dẻ:tẻ and brât change the stem-final consonant in the plural.

Nsg. dẻ:tẻ (dijẻtẻ)	Npl. dẻcá (djẻcá)	'child'
brât	bráća	'brother'
gospódín	gospódá	'gentleman, Mr., Sir
vlastẻlín	vlastẻlá	'nobleman (archaic

Illustration of gender/number agreement of plural of B/C and B/A nouns:

Tá: mlâ:da: prâsa:d su dóbrá.	'Those young pigs are good.'
Nâša bráća su dóbrâ.	'Our brothers are good.'
Óná (~ ôni) su dóbrá.	'They (with reference to either of the foregoing sentences) are good.

1.5 Example paradigms

	A-nouns				An-noun
Sg.	'hand'	'side'	'needle'	(name)	'servant'
V	rȗ:ko	strȁ:no	íglo	Í:vo/Í:ve	slȕ:go
N	rȗ:kȁ	strȁ:nȃ	íglȃ	Í:vȏ/Í:vȇ	slȕ:gȃ
A	rȗ:ku	strȁ:mu	íglu	Í:vȗ	slȕ:gȗ
G	rȗ:kȇ:	strȁ:nȇ:	íglȇ:	Í:vȇ:	slȕ:gȇ
D	rȗ:cí	strȁ:ní	íglí	Í:ví	slȕ:gí~slȕ:zí
I	rȗ:kȏ:m	strȁ:nȏ:m	íglȏ:m	Í:vȏ:m	slȕ:gȏ:m
Pl.					
NA	rȗ:ke	strȁ:ne	íg!e		slȕ:ge
G	rȗ:kȃ:~rúkȗ:	strȁ:nȃ:	'gȃ:lȃ:		slȕ:ga:~slúgȗ:
DI	rúkáma	strȃnáma	'gláma		slúgáma

Bm-nouns

Sg.	'work'	'husband'	'horse'	'business'	'thinker'
V	rȃ:de	mȗ:žu	kȏnju	pȏsle	mȋslioče
N	rȃ:d	mȗ:ž	kȏnj	pȏsȃo	mȋslilac
A		mȗ:ža	kȏnjȃ		mȋslioca
G	rȃ:da			pȏslȃ	
D	rȃ:du	mȗ:žu	kȏnjȗ	pȏslȗ	mȋsliocu
I	rȃ:dom	mȗ:žem	kȏnjȇm	pȏslȏm	mȋsliocem
Pl.					
N	rȃdovi	mȗževi	kȏnjí	pȏslȏvi	mȋslioci
A	rȃdove	mȗževe	kȏnjé	pȏslȏve	mȋslioce
G	radȏ:vȃ	mužé:vȃ	kȏ:njȃ:	pȏslȏ:va:	mȋslila:ca:
DI	rȃdovima	mȗževima	kȏnjíma~kȏnjma	pȏslȏvima	mȋsliocima

Bm-nouns with extension /-in-/		Bm-nouns with /o ̯e/ in VNsg.		
Sg.	'citizen'	Sg.		
V	grȁđanine	VN	Má:rko	Míloje
N	grȁđanin	A	Má:rka	Míloja
A	grȁđanina	G		
G		D	Má:rku	Míloju
D	grȁđanimu	I	Má:rkom	Mílojem
I	grȁđaninom	Pl.		
Pl.		N	Má:rci	Míloji
N	grȁđa:ni	A	Má:rka:	Míloja:
A	grȁđa:ne	G		
G	grȁđa:na:	DI	Má:rcima	Mílojima
DI	grȁđa:nima			

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Bm/n noun 'torpedo'		Bn-nouns 'village'	'field'	'car'
Sg.		Sg.		
VNA	torpé:dȏ	VNA	séló	pólje	véslȏ
G	torpé:dá	G	sélá	pólja	véslá
D	torpé:dú	D	sélú	pólju	véslú
I	torpé:dȏm	I	sélȏm	póljem	véslȏm
pl.		pl.			
NA	torpé:dá	NA	séla	póljá	véslá
G	torpé:dá:	G	sé:la:	pó:ljá:	vesá:lá:
DI	torpé:dîma	DI	sélima	póljîma	véslîma

	Bn-noun with extension /-en-/ 'name'	BC-noun with extensions /-et-/, /-a:d-/ 'calf'
Sg.		
VNA	íme	télé
G	ímena	téléta
D	ímenu	télétu
I	ímenom	télétom
pl.		
NA	iménâ	téla:d
G	imé:nâ:	téla:di ∽ téla:di:
DI	iménima	téla:di ∽ téla:dima ∽ telâ:dmâ

	C-noun 'thing'	'joy'
Sg.		
NA	stvá:r	rádo:st
VGD	stvá:ri	rádosti
I	stvá:rju	rádošću
	∽ stvá:ri	∽ rádosti
pl.		
NA	stvé:ri	rádosti
G	stvá:rí:	rádo:sti:*
DI	stvá:rima	rádostima*

* The usual accentuation; radó:stí: radóstima is also listed in the handbooks.

1.6 Defective nouns.

Some nouns occur only in the singular (singularia tantum).

Most personal names and geographical names have no plural forms. The Bm nouns áuto and rá:dijo and the Bn. noun kílo have in the plural only the Gpl. and that only after numerals (Elsewhere where plural meaning would be required the synonyms automóbil, rá:dijo-apára:t, and kílogram are used).

A fairly large number of words occur only in the plural (pluralia tantum). These include geographical names such as Úžice (literally 'the narrows'), Ká:rlo:vci and common nouns like vrá:tá Bn 'door' mákáze A 'scissors'.

1.7 Length alternation in the noun stem.

Automatic changes

(a) The vowel in the syllable preceding the Gpl. ending /-a:/ is lengthened:

Nsg.	nȃ:rȏd	Gpl. nȃ:rȏ:da:	'people'
	sȇlȏ	sȇ:la:	'village'

This of course also applies to the inserted vowel:

sȇstrȃ	sestȃ:rȃ:	'sister'

Non-automatic changes

(b) Before consonant sequences in which inserted vowel may occur and in which the first consonant of the sequence is a consonant neutral with regard to voicing or /v/, short V is lengthened when inserted /a/ is absent.

V (/a/ present)	V: (/a/ absent)	
Nsg. stȃrac, Gp stȃra:ca:	Gsg. stȃ:rca	'old man'
Gpl. brȏja:ka:	Nsg. brȏ:jka	'figure, number'
Gpl. zvȏna:ca:	Nsg. zvȏ:rcȇ	'bell'

(c) In a syllable preceding zero ending short vowel is lengthened

Nsg. nȏ:j	Gsg. nȏja	'ostrich'
dȏ:m	dȏma	'home'
lȃžȏ:v	lažȏvȇ	'liar'
gȏvo:r	gȏvora	'speech'
rȇšȏ:	rešȏȃ	~~'toaster'~~ 'hotplate'
žiri:	žirȋjȃ	'jury'
kȏ:st	kȏsti	'bone'

All class C nouns with the suffix /-ost-/ show this change:

dů:žnő:st dů:žnő:sti 'duty'

(d) Before DIpl. ending ~~alternates with~~ long V is shortened:

Nsg. glå:va DIpl. glávåma 'head'

This change apparently affects only class A nouns with E stress. It may occur in conjunction with alternation (b) above:

Nsg. ó:vcå DIpl. óvcåma Gpl. cvå:cå: 'sheep'

This alternation (shortening in DIpl.) is non-occurrent (obsolete) for many standard speakers.

(e) Long V is shortened before certain suffixes and stem extensions, apparently always in the case of /-en-, -es-, -a:d-, -in-/, usually in the case of /-ov-/ and /-et-/ (regularly in both cases if the long syllable had single stress):

Long V	Short V	
Nsg. drú:g	Npl. drúgovi	'comrade'
Npl. gráđa:ni	Nsg. gráđanin	'citizen'
Npl. Búga:ri	Nsg. Búgarin	'Bulgarian'
Nsg. vré:mé (vrijémé)	Gsg. vrémena	'time'
Nsg. té:lo (tíjelo)	Npl. telésá (tjelésá)	'body'
Nsg. prá:se	Gsg. práseta Npl. prá:d	'pig'

This change is combined with lengthening before a cluster in the absence of inserted /a/ in the following item:

Nsg. Túrčín Npl. Tú:rci Gpl. Túra:kа: 'Turk'

(f) Unstressed antepenult vowel is shortened:

Nsg. ú:žé Gsg. ú:žéta Npl. užétá 'rope'

(g) Vowel before type C Isg. ending /-ju ~ -Ju/ is lengthened. This change occurs sporadically in some items only, with considerable idiolectal variation, and apparently always in conjunction with lengthening before Ø:

Gsg. kčéri Isg. kčé:rju Asg. kčé:r 'daughter'

Gsg.	pẹ́ći	Isg.	pẹ́:ću	NAsg. pẹ́:ć	'stove, oven'
	zọ́bi		zọ́:blju	NAsg. zọ́:b	'oats'
	kə́rvi		kə́:rvlju	kə́:rv	'blood'
	kosti		kọ́:šću ~ kọ́šću	kọ́:st	'bone'

(h) Long vowel in singular alternates with short V in plural. This change is apparently limited to a few items:

Nsg.	gvọ́:žđe	Npl.	gvọ́žđá	'iron'
	də́:rvcẹ́		də́rvcá	'splinter, small stick of wood'

1.8 Stress shifts.

Stress in a nominal paradigm is conceived as either fixed (on the same syllable, except for an automatic shift, in all forms) or shifting (alternating). When a stress shift (alternation) takes place one stress position is considered basic from which others are shifted. Normally, the stress of the majority of forms is considered basic. Thus, many nouns have ending stress in all forms but the vocative, which has initial stress. In these, ending stress is considered basic and is shifted to initial position in the vocative. However, there are cases where an arbitrary decision must be made. For example, some nouns have initial stress in singular and ending stress in plural. Here one could as logically say that basic ending stress is shifted to initial position in singular as that basic initial stress is shifted to ending in plural. Here we make an arbitrary decision to regard the singular stress as basic.

For nominal words there are three basic stress positions:

(1) ending stress (É) in which the second half of geminate stress falls on the first vowel of an ending and the first half on the last syllable of the stem, e.g. žénȁ.[7]

(2) initial stress (Í) in which stress is realized as a single stress, potentially (in case of one syllable shift) geminate with first half truncated, e.g. nȏ:j (shifted one syllable as nójévi in plural)[8]

(3) non-initial stem stress (Ś), a geminate stress whose second element rests on any syllable of the stem but the initial one, e.g. ȁzbúka.

There are also three types of shifts:

(1) Shift to ending stress (→É), e.g. drȕ:g → Gpl. druȇ:vȁ:

(2) Shift to initial stress (→Í), e.g. žénȁ → Vsg. žéno

(3) Shift one syllable to the right (⟶) or left (⟵) i.e. toward end or beginning of word, e.g. (⟶) Npl., Nsg. (°)nȏ:j→nójévi; (⟵): sínȏ:vȁc →Gpl. sínȏ:va:ca:

There is one shift which is automatic; ending stress shifts one syllable forward (⟵) whenever zero ending would truncate its second half.[9] Thus ending stress exemplified by Gsg. račȕ:nȁ 'bill, account' undergoes ⟵ in Nsg. ráčȕ:n. As this shift is automatic, it is not taken into account in the listing of patterns below; ráčȕ:n is considered to have fixed ending stress.

It will be seen that stress alternations occur most frequently in disyllabic stems, and are absent in the vast majority of stems of three or more syllables. The syllable created by an inserted /a/ or /ŀ→o/ is not counted, so that /ot⌈a⌉c-/ 'father' is monosyllabic and /pratil⌈a⌉c-/ 'accompanier' disyllabic. Likewise, ijekavski /ije/ corresponding to ekavski /e:/ constitutes morphophonemically the nucleus of but one syllable, so that /vijek-/ = /ve:k-/ 'age, century' is a monosyllabic stem.